

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3012

INFO SECDEF

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3634

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG PARM

SUBJECT: CSCE: CBM'S: UK PROPOSED PREAMBULAR TEXT WITH "VOLUNTARY BASIS" FOR MANEUVERS MEASURE

1. SUMMARY: AFTER INTENSIVE CAUCUS DEBATE DURING PERIOD MAY 6-15, ALL ALLIES EXCEPT CANADA AND NETHERLANDS AGREED TO SUPPORT IMPORTANT MOVE TOWARDS SOVIET POSITION ON "VOLUNTARY BASIS" FOR MANEUVERS MEASURE. PROPOSED TEXT INCLUDES WORDS "VOLUNTARY BASIS" IN PREAMBULAR CONTEXT BUT LEAVES AMBIGUOUS WHETHER THE WORDS APPLY TO THE UNDERTAKING OR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MEASURE. UK INTRODUCED TEXT ON MAY 16. NEUTRALS ON SAME DAY INTRODUCED ALTERNATIVE TEXT WITH OPERATIVE LANGUAGE USING WORDS "AGREE ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS TO GIVE PRIOR NOTIFICATION..." SOVIETS REACTED NEGATIVELY TO NEUTRAL PROPOSAL, BUT INDICATED SYMPATHETIC INTEREST IN NEW UK APPROACH WHICH WILL BE DISCUSSED FURTHER NEXT WEEK. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING LAST MEETING OF FIRST SUBCOMMITTEE ROUND ON CONCEPT OF VOLUNTARY BASIS ON APRIL 25, UK WAS AUTHORIZED BY CAUCUS TO TAKE LIMITED STEP TOWARD SOVIET POSITION AND TO STATE THAT YUGOSLAV TEXT ("...UNDERTAKE ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS...") COULD BE THE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS (GENEVA 3014).

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INTERVENING SUBCOMMITTEE DISCUSSION DEALT WITH PARAMETERS

FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS. AT MAY 6 ALLIED CAUCUS TO PREPARE FOR SECOND ROUND OR PARALLEL DISCUSSION OF THESE ISSUES, ALLIES AGREED THAT THEY WOULD NEED TO TAKE AN ADDITIONAL STEP TOWARD SOVIETS ON "VOLUNTARY BASIS" IN ORDER TO ELICIT FURTHER FLEXIBILITY FROM THEM ON PARAMETERS. SMALL DRAFTING GROUP (US, UK AND NETHERLANDS) WAS COMMISSIONED TO PREPARE PROPOSALS FOR CAUCUS, EITHER REFINEMENTS OF YUGOSLAV TEXT OR OTHER APPROACHES.

3. DRAWING ON ELEMENTS OF ITALIAN PROPOSAL OF APRIL 21 (GENEVA 2823), THE DRAFTING GROUP PREPARED THREE ILLUSTRATIVE TEXTS FOR CAUCUS MEETING ON MAY 12:

A. A REVISION OF THE YUGOSLAV TEXT, WITH OPERATIVE LANGUAGE TO EFFECT THAT PARTICIPANTS "ACCEPT ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS A POLITICAL AND MORAL COMMITMENT... (TO NOTIFY)."

B. A PREAMBULAR FORMULATION APPLYING THE "VOLUNTARY BASIS" TO ALL CBM'S BUT LEAVING AMBIGUOUS WHETHER THE UNDERTAKING OR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MEASURES WOULD BE VOLUNTARY."

C. A SIMILAR PREAMBULAR FORMULATION APPLYING THE "VOLUNTARY BASIS" TO THE MANEUVERS MEASURE IN PARTICULAR.

4. IN ENSUING CAUCUS DISCUSSION, REPS OF SEVERAL SMALLER ALLIES WERE ONLY PREPARED TO SUPPORT FIRST OF THESE THREE ALTERNATIVES, BUT UK, FRG, AND FRANCE POINTED OUT THAT SOVIETS HAD ALREADY REJECTED FIRST ALTERNATIVE AS INSUFFICIENT, AND THAT ONLY SECOND AND THIRD ALTERNATIVES WOULD BE ENOUGH TO ELICIT FURTHER SOVIET MOVEMENT ON PARAMETERS. US REP EXPRESSED PREFERENCE FOR SECOND ALTERNATIVE, ON GROUNDS THAT A GENERAL PREAMBULAR FORMULATION WOULD SIMPLIFY FINAL DOCUMENT, DILUTE EFFECT OF WORDS "VOLUNTARY BASIS" ON IMPLEMENTATION OF MANEUVERS MEASURE, AND LAY BASIS FOR US PREFERRED LANGUAGE ON NATURE OF COMMITMENT. HOWEVER, MOST ALLIES BELIEVED THIRD ALTERNATIVE MOST PROMISING, AND SOVIETS IN INFORMAL SOUNDINGS EXPRESSED SIMILAR PREFERENCES, WITH RESULT THAT CAUCUS ASKED DRAFTING GROUP TO REFINE TEXT OF THIS ALTERNATIVE. RESULTANT TEXT IS AS FOLLOWS:

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BEGIN TEXT:

--CONVINCED OF THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS FOR THE PROMOTION OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND THE STRENGTHENING OF CONFIDENCE, STABILITY AND SECURITY;
--ACCEPTING THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EACH OF THEM TO PROMOTE THESE OBJECTIVES;

--CONVINCED THAT IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS MEASURE IN
ACCORDANCE WITH THE ACCEPTED CRITERIA AND MODALITIES
IS INDISPENSABLE FOR THE REALISATION OF THESE
OBJECTIVES;
--RECOGNISING THAT THIS MEASURE DERIVES FROM POLITICAL
DECISION AND THEREFORE RESTS UPON A VOLUNTARY BASIS;
END TEXT

5. IN FURTHER CAUCUS MEETINGS ON MAY 14 AND 15 TO CONSIDER
THIS TEXT, NETHERLANDS AND CANADA MAINTAINED VIEW THAT
USING EXPLICIT WORDS "VOLUNTARY BASIS" IN A DRAFT TEXT
FOR MANEUVERS WAS TOO GREAT A STEP FOR ALLIES TO
BE TAKING, AT LEAST AT HIS JUNCTURE, AND THEY COULD NOT
JOIN IN SUPPORTING INTRODUCTION OF TEXT. CANADIAN REP
ARGUED THAT INCLUSION OF WORDS IN FINAL TEXT WOULD CAUSE
SEVERE NEGATIVE PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESS REACTIONS.
GREEK AND ITALIAN REPS HAD SIMILAR RESERVATIONS, BUT WERE
PREPARED TO SUPPORT THE TEXT RELOUCTANTLY. TAKING INTO
ACCOUNT DUTCH AND CANADIAN DISSENT, UK VOLUNTEERED TO
TABLE TEXT AS A PERSONAL INITIATIVE. REMAINING REPS
SAID THEY WOULD SUPPORT IT ON BEHALF OF THEIR OWN DELEGA-
TIONS, ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THEY WOULD STRESS THE
IMPORTANCE OF THIS CONCESSION TO SOVIETS, THAT IDEAS
EXPRESSED IN IT MUST BE KEPT AS A PACKAGE
IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN BALANCE, AND THAT TEXT AS DRAFTED
WOULD OBVIATE ANY NEED FOR AN OPERATIVE REFERENCE TO
"VOLUNTARY BASIS."

6. IN MAY 16 MEETING OF SUBCOMMITTEE, FINNISH REP
UNEXPECTEDLY INTRODUCED NEW VERSION OF YUGOSLAV APPROACH,
AND WAS QUICKLY SUPPORTED BY OTHER FIVE MEMBERS OF NEUTRAL
GROUP. FINNISH TEXT AS FOLLOWS: BEGIN TEXT:
ACCORDINGLY, RECOGNIZING THEIR POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY
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OF STRENGTHENING CONFIDENCE THROUGH APPROPRIATE
JOINT MEASURES, THE PARTICIPATING STATES HAVE FOUND
IT IMPORTANT TO AGREE, ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS, TO GIVE
PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS
WHEN THE FOLLOWING PROVISIONS ARE MET: END TEXT
SOVIETS OBJECTED IN CORRIDORS THAT NEUTRALS HAD NOT CON-
SULTED THEM AT ALL AND MADE NEGATIVE REMARKS ABOUT THIS
TEXT IN SUBCOMMITTEE.

7. IN CONTRAST, WHEN UK INTRODUCED ALLIED TEXT, IN SUB-
SEQUENT INFORMAL SESSION, SOVIET AMBASSADOR MENDELEVICH
GAVE GUARDED BUT ESSENTIALLY FAVORABLE INITIAL REACTION,
PROMISING THAT "SOME ELEMENTS" WOULD PROBABLY BE ACCEPTABLE,
AND PROPOSING RELATIVELY MINOR REVISIONS ELSEWHERE. US
REP SUPPORTED UK TEXT AND INDICATED SOME FLEXIBILITY ON

LANGUAGE FOR SECOND CLAUSE, BUT DISCOURAGED ANY MAJOR AMENDMENTS TO OTHERS.

8. SOVIETS PROMISED TO GIVE MORE AUTHORITATIVE REACTIONS TO NEW TEXTS DURING MAY 20 MEETING, AFTER WHICH SUBCOMMITTEE WILL PROBABLY RETURN TO PARAMETERS.

9. COMMENT: QUITE APART FROM SOVIET PROBLEMS WITH NEW NEUTRAL TEXT (BASICALLY BECAUSE "VOLUNTARY BASIS" DESCRIBES THE COMMITMENT RATHER THAN ITS IMPLEMENTATION), WE ASSUME NEUTRAL SOLUTION WOULD ALSO CAUSE DIFFICULTIES FOR U.S. BECAUSE OF THE OPERATIVE VERB "AGREE." SIMILAR DIFFICULTIES WITH NATURE OF COMMITMENT ARE LIKELY TO ARISE IN VIRTUALLY ALL CONCEIVABLE TREATMENTS OF "VOLUNTARY BASIS" IN OPERATIVE LANGUAGE. THIS, AMONG OTHER REASONS, HAS LED US TO PRESS FOR AGREEMENT TO PUT CONCEPT INTO PREAMBLE. PREAMBULAR TREATMENT WOULD ALSO HAVE EFFECT OF DOWNPLAYING SOMEWHAT THE SIGNIFICANCE OF "VOLUNTARY BASIS," AND IF SOVIETS CAN BE BROUGHT TO ACCEPT A TEXT SUBSTANTIALLY ALONG THE LINES PROPOSED BY UK, WE BELIEVE THAT OUTLINES OF A COMPROMISE TEXT MAY BE IN SIGHT. SOVIETS HAVE SEEMED SYMPATHETIC TO THIS APPROACH IN INFORMAL CONTACTS AS WELL AS IN SUBCOMMITTEE, BUT WE ARE STILL UNCERTAIN HOW EXTENSIVE THEIR PROPOSALS FOR AMENDMENTS MAY BE. DALE
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